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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3951

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TO THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM REINHARDT

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ AND MASERU FOR AMB SCHAUFELLE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJ: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION'S
STATE OF MIND

1. I CALLED ON VAN DER BYL, PARTRIDGE AND WADDINGTON
ON DEC 2 TO OBTAIN THEIR CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF THE
SITUATION IN GENEVA.

2. VAN DER BYL TURNED QUICKLY TO ME AND SAID "THIS
GENEVA THING IS NOT GOING TO DO; NO CIVILIZED AGREEMENT
CAN COME OUT OF THIS CONFERENCE." HIS GLOOMY FORECAST
HAD BEEN REINFORCED BY MUGABE'S PERFORMANCE YESTERDAY
AFTERNOON. "MUGABE WENT BERSERK AND BEHAVED LIKE A
SAVAGE ANIMAL, NOT LIKE A HUMAN BEING. I NEVER THOUGHT
IT POSSIBLE BUT HIS EYES WENT RED LIKE A MAD BEAST.
HE IS A DANGEROUS, HORRIBLE THING AND WE CAN NEVER
PERMIT MEN LIKE HIM TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD
BE LIKE TURNING THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT OVER TO
HEYDRICH." MAGABE'S EXTREMISM, VAN DER BYL WENT ON,
IS FORCING EVERYONE ELSE TO CALL FOR VIOLENCE. MUZOREWA
IS A MODERATE BUT WEAK MAN AND IS INTIMIDATED BY
MUGABE. OTHER MODERATES LIKE CHINAMANO AND GABELLAH
ARE ALSO INTIMIDATED. THIS DISCUSSIONS YESTERDAY,

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VAN DER BYL SAID, BORE NO RELATIONSHIP TO THE KISSINGER

PROPOSALS. SEVERAL OF THE AFRICANS WERE IN FACT
INSULTING ABOUT THE PROPOSALS.

3. WADDINGTON, PARTRIDGE AND VAN DER BYL THEN LAUNCHED
INTO A CRITIQUE OF BRITISH TACTICS. THE BRITISH,
VAN DER BYL SAID, HAD ORIGINALLY ARGUED THEY HAD TO LET
THE AFRICANS LET OFF STEAM. AFTER 5 WEEKS OF DEBATE,
THEY SHOULD HAVE LEARNED THIS WILL GET THEM NOWHERE.
EVEN THOUGH RICHARD CLAIMS HE WILL STAND BEHIND ANNEX C
AND GIVE THE FIVE POINTS A FAIR RUN, HE HAS REFUSED TO
INCLUDE THE QUESTION OF A WHITE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL
OF STATE AND WHITE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER
IN HIS NEGOTIATING POSITION. THE DEFENSE AND LAW
PORTFOLIOS MUST STAY IN WHITE HANDS IF A COMMUNIST TAKE-
OVER IS TO BE AVOIDED. IN FACT, RICHARD IS TELLING THE
RHODESIANS, ACCORDING TO VAN DER BYL, THAT THE FIVE
POINTS ARE FOR THEM TO DEFEND AND BRITAIN WILL TAKE
NO PART.

4. IT IS THE BRITISH PLAN, SAID WADDINGTON, TO OBTAIN
FROM EACH DELEGATION A DETAILED DISSERTATION ON THE
INTERIM GOVERNMENT, EXAMINE THESE POSITIONS AND
THEN FLOAT SOMETHING LIKE ANNEX C WHICH THE BRITISH
WOULD TRY TO OBTAIN NATIONALIST APPROVAL OF AND THEN
SELL TO THE RHODESIANS. THEY SEEMED TO OVERLOOK THE
FACT, WADDINGTON SAID, THAT WE HAVE MADE A MAJOR CON-
CESSION IN AGREEING TO MAJORITY RULE AND WE ARE BOUND
TO THE POSITION WE HAVE BROUGHT TO GENEVA.

5. PARTRIDGE ADDED, IT WAS THE RHODESIAN UNDERSTANDING
THE BRITISH HAD ALREADY GONE BEYOND ANNEX C. THEY
HAD TOLD THE RHODESIANS THAT THE PRICE OF A SETTLEMENT
MIGHT BE A BRITISH PRESENCE (OUR TROOPS, SAID PARTRIDGE,
WILL NEVER AGREE TO SERVE UNDER AN ENGLISHMAN) AND SOME
VARIANT ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE WHICH MIGHT BE AN ELITE
CABINET GROUP WITH UNCLEAR POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.
THE TWO MINISTERS POINTED OUT THAT SUCH DEPARTURES FROM
THE ORIGINAL PLAN COULD NOT BE SOLD TO THE RHODESIAN
FRONT CAUCUS OR TO THE PARLIAMENT.

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6. PARTRIDGE TOOK A MORE MODERATE LINE AND SAID
THAT WE HAD TO REMEMBER THE CRUCIAL ISSUE IN RHODESIA
WAS THE PRESENCE OF EUROPEANS. A BLACK PRIME MINISTER
WILL NEED "EUROPEAN STEEL" TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY AND
THE ECONOMY WILL NOT SURVIVE WITHOUT A EUROPEAN
BUSINESS AND FARMING PRESENCE. THE EUROPEANS WILL NOT
STAY IF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW NATION DOES NOT
PROVIDE FOR CHECKS AND BALANCES, INCLUDING AN INDEPENDENT

JUDICIARY. IF HAD TO PROVIDE SAFEGUARDS SO THAT AN ARMY-DOMINATED OR ONE-PARTY STATE DID NOT DEVELOP. "WE KNOW WHAT IS AT STAKE AND WE CANNOT SACRIFICE OUR COUNTRY FOR THE SHORT TERM EXPEDIENCY OF A SETTLEMENT." VAN DER BYL CONTINUED, SAYING THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND WORLD OPPOSITION TO RACIALISM BUT HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THE BRITISH AND, TO SOME DEGREE, OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH SATISFYING THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. "THEY HAVE NAILED THEIR COLORS TO THE FLAG POLE OF WILD NATIONALISM. IT IS NONSENSE FOR ANYONE TO SUPPORT A SITUATION IN WHICH TERROR MAKES RIGHT." PICKING UP THE POINT, PARTRIDGE SAID THAT WITH A NON-RACIAL GOVERNMENT IN WHICH SOMEONE WHO COMPETED IN ELECTIONS COMES TO POWER, MODERATE BLACK RHODESIANS IN VAST NUMBERS WILL FLOCK TO THEIR COUNTRY'S SUPPORT AND THE SUPPORT OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WOULD BE LESS IMPORTANT.

7. I ASKED VAN DER BYL WHAT, AT THIS JUNCTURE, HE THOUGHT WE COULD DO. VAN DER BYL REPLIED THAT WE HAD TO KEEP UP OUR PRESSURE ON THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. "WE ARE PREPARED TO MANEUVER AT GENEVA BUT NOT TO PART FROM BASIC PRINCIPLES."

8. SUMMING UP THE DISCUSSION AFTER THE TWO MINISTERS LEFT THE ROOM, WADDINGTON SAID THAT HE WAS ONLY A SERVANT OF THE STATE AND HAD TO SPEAK WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF HIS INSTRUCTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, HE FELT DEEPLY THAT THE TWO TIER SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT FORESEEN IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL WOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY CHECKS AND BALANCES TO SEE RHODESIA THROUGH TRANSITION. IT WOULD GUARANTEE RHODESIA AGAINST "TRAUMATIC AND SHAKING CHANGES IN THE FIELDS OF TAXATION, BUSINESS, AGRICULTURE AND SECURITY." IF A BLACK NATIONALIST TOOK
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OVER WITHOUT ANY CHECKS, RACIAL HARMONY WOULD COME TO AN END AND A MASS EXODUS WOULD ENSUE.

9. I ASKED THE RHODESIANS WHAT THEY THOUGHT ABOUT THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW ZIPA GROUP. THEY SAID THEIR INTELLIGENCE LED THEM TO BELIEVE THAT AFTER SOME WRANGLING, SOME OR ALL OF THE NEW ARRIVALS MIGHT JOIN SITHOLE. SITHOLE HAD BEEN EXTREMELY EFFECTIVE DURING HIS VISIT TO AFRICA IN STIRRING UP SUPPORT.

10. COMMENT: WHILE THERE IS NOTHING FUNDAMENTALLY NEW IN WHAT THE RHODESIANS TOLD ME, THE CONVERSATION DOES PROVIDE US WITH A CLEAR PICTURE OF THEIR STATE OF MIND. I LEFT THE MEETING WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TWO LEADERS HAVE DECIDED GENEVA CANNOT WORK, AND ASSUMING

THAT THEY REFLECT SALISBURY'S THINKING, I DETECT THAT
THOUGHT IS BEING GIVEN TO A UNILATERAL EXECUTION OF
THE "KISSINGER PLAN." DESPITE REPEATED ATTEMPTS TO
DRAW THEM OUT, THEY DID NOT REVEAL ANY CHANGE IN THEIR
NEGOTIATING POSITION HERE. THE RHODESIANS ARE NOT ABOUT
TO PULL OUT OF GENEVA, AND ARE INCLINED, FOR THE
PRESENT, TO HOLD A LOW PROFILE POSITION AND STAND BEHIND
THEIR "CONTRACT."CATTO

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